KIM IL SUNG

ON ACHIEVING THE NATIONAL REUNIFICATION BY THE GREAT UNITY OF THE NATION

PYONGYANG, KOREA
JUCHE 97 (2008)

WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

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LET THE ENTIRE NATION UNITE AND HASTEN THE REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY

Speech Delivered to the Delegates to the
Pan-National Rally
August 18, 1990

Today I am very pleased to see you delegates to the Pan-National Rally, who have come to visit the homeland with an ardent desire for national reunification from many regions abroad.

You are patriots who have been devotedly struggling overseas to realize national reunification, the cherished desire of the nation. You have made great efforts to hold at Panmunjom the Pan-National Rally for peace and reunification of the country and worked hard to ensure the success of the Pan-National Rally.

I warmly congratulate you upon the success of the Pan-National Rally, a success achieved by your joint effort.

The Pan-National Rally, which has been held in the first year of the 1990s and has given us the hope of national reunification, is a historic meeting that should be specially marked, along with the joint conference of the representatives of political parties and social organizations in north and south Korea in 1948, in the history of our people's struggle to reunify the country.

It is the first event of great significance in the history of

national division; compatriots from the north, south and abroad have met and discussed ways and joint measures to hasten the reunification of the country by transcending differences in thought, ideas, political views and religious beliefs. The Pan-National Rally, which has attracted great interest among progressive people throughout the world, has clearly shown our nation's burning desire for reunification and the people's unbreakable will to reunify the country and live in a reunified country as one nation that must not remain divided.

Although one delegate from the south, representing the south side promotion headquarters, came to the Pan-National Rally, a large number of delegates from reunification movement organizations and important persons fighting for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country came from the north and abroad to attend the meeting. I heard there were about 200 women among the delegates. That is excellent.

You delegates to the Pan-National Rally have made a good resolution and adopted excellent documents to bring national reunification near. The various functions organized before and after the meeting have all been excellently conducted. The south side, though unable to send its delegates to the meeting as planned, has responded actively to the spirit of the meeting by listening to news of the meeting on the radio. I think this is also a good thing.

Viewed as a whole, the Pan-National Rally has proceeded in keeping with the nation's desire for reunification and its expectations, and the success achieved by the meeting is great, indeed. I am greatly satisfied with this.

As you have unanimously resolved at the Pan-National Rally, we must accomplish the historic cause of national reunification within the 1990s.

Ending the tragedy of national division by reunifying the

country is the most pressing task for all the Korean people.

Our people are a homogeneous nation. They have lived in the same land down through the ages, creating their own culture and making their own history. Our nation was divided artificially by foreign forces and is still divided because of the foreign forces' obstructive moves against reunification. The division of the nation has not only caused immeasurable misfortune and suffering to all our compatriots in the north, south and abroad, but also obstructed the coordinated development of the nation and the prosperity of the country. This is the age of independence, and divided nations are all advancing towards reunification. There is no reason or condition whatsoever that in this age our nation should continue to live divided. We must not let the tragedy of national division continue any longer; we must reunify the country as soon as possible.

To reunify the country is a burning desire of the entire Korean nation.

The trend to national reunification is now mounting higher than ever before among our compatriots in the north, south and abroad. Last year Rim Su Gyong, a student representative from Jondaehyop (National Council of Student Representatives–Tr.) in south Korea, visited Pyongyang at the risk of her life. This vividly showed the whole world how strong our people's desire for national reunification is. Coming to Pyongyang, Rim Su Gyong took a long, roundabout way because of the barrier of division, but upon returning, she crossed Panmunjom at the risk of her life in accordance with the decision of her organization. Though a young student, she has done a heroic deed. Speaking highly of her patriotic action, I called her the flower of reunification and the daughter of Korea.

Certainly, our struggle for reunification is difficult and we

cannot expect that the nation's desire for reunification will be realized easily.

No small forces are still obstructing the reunification of our country.

The United States is the main force standing in the way of Korea's reunification.

The United States has occupied south Korea by force of arms and is lording over it. It keeps 40,000 troops in south Korea on a regular basis, with the prerogative of high command of the south Korean army. The US forces in south Korea and the south Korean army are called the ROK-US Combined Forces, and an American is the commander of the combined forces. A country that has yielded the prerogative of high command of its armed forces to another country cannot be called an independent state. Although south Korea is said to have its "President", the Americans have the real power to instal or dismiss the "President". As historical facts show, the Americans can dismiss the "President" of the puppet government or assassinate him when they do not like him and replace him with another.

The essence of the United States' Korea policy is to manufacture "two Koreas" and keep south Korea forever as a colony. The United States badly needs south Korea as a strategic war base for domination of Asia and the rest of the world. As I said in my talks to the managing editor of the Japanese politico-theoretical magazine *Sekai* several years ago, the Americans consider south Korea a tasty piece of fat and with it between their teeth, will not let it go. That is why the reunification of Korea is a difficult problem.

Japan is a formidable force that also hinders the reunification of our country. Japan, which is now referred to as a major economic power, wants to become a major military

power and a major political power in the future. The Japanese militarists are building up their naval force and other "Self-Defence Forces" by preaching the doctrine of "1,000-mile sea route defence". By this doctrine they mean that they should defend the sea surface and air space of the western Pacific within the range of 1,000 miles from Japan. The doctrine aims, in essence, at keeping the Asia-Pacific region as far as Singapore under its control. Japan schemes to become the leader of Asia again and realize its old dream of what it called the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. The United States has made Japan a major economic power. However, when Japan grows into a major military power, she may bite at the United States, just as the saying has it that a dog bites the man who has brought it up.

Japan considers Korea's reunification to be an obstacle to realizing her wild dream of Asian leadership. The Japanese reactionaries are afraid of the reunification of our country. Our country will be a powerful country when its north and south are reunified. When the economies of the two parts of the country are merged, the economic capabilities will be great, and our country's population will be 70 million. That is why the Japanese reactionaries are opposed to Korea's reunification. Describing the military demarcation line in our country as an "anti-communist breakwater", they openly say that the "anti-communist breakwater" must not crumble. If the United States takes its hands off south Korea, Japan may again make inroads into it.

Because the Japanese reactionaries refuse to discard their wild dream of reinvading Korea, we must heighten vigilance against both the United States and Japan. At the time of the north-south Red Cross talks many years ago, we showed the revolutionary opera, *The Sea of Blood*, to the delegates from

south Korea. Seeing the performance, some of the south Koreans asked if it was necessary to dig up the past. *The Sea of Blood*, which we had produced and staged during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, was adapted to a revolutionary opera version under the guidance of Comrade Kim Jong Il. The opera shows the historical truth that there is resistance where there are exploitation and oppression. It also shows the revolutionary spirit of independence of the Korean people, who were putting up unyielding resistance to the Japanese imperialists' aggression and tyranny. We must not forget our people's unbearable sufferings under the colonial rule of Japanese imperialists, though a past event.

During the 36 years of their occupation of our country the Japanese imperialists clamoured that Japan and Korea were one and that they shared the same ancestors and were of the same stock. They even forced the Koreans to change their surnames in Japanese fashion and tried to assimilate the Korean nation. Men such as Ri Kwang Su and Choe Nam Son also preached that Koreans and Japanese were of the same stock. As long as the Japanese reactionaries keep dreaming of reinvasion of Korea, we must remain alert to its danger.

There is a force obstructing national reunification within our nation.

The course of events that led to the success of the Pan-National Rally was not smooth. Although the patriots and overwhelming majority of the people in the north, south and abroad hailed the convocation of the Pan-National Rally for national reunification at Panmunjom on the occasion of August 15, divisive elements opposed to national reunification worked in various ways to thwart the meeting. As the date of opening the Pan-National Rally approached, the south Korean authorities made a "special announcement" on July 20 that they

would establish a five-day "great national interchange" period around the 15th of August. They made a fuss about "accepting applications for visits to the north" and "exchange of name lists". They said that they had received 60,000 "applicants for visits to the north" and that they would hand over the applicants' list to us. It would have been difficult for 60,000 persons to travel to the north and back through Panmunjom during the five-day period, but worse still, they had no intention of sending what they called applicants to the north. In fact, they permitted none of the south-side delegates to the Pan-National Rally, who had applied for a visit to the north, to attend the meeting. The south Korean authorities also blocked the northward journey of Mr. Paek Ki Wan, whom we had invited and who had expressed his intention to visit the north during the period they called the great national interchange. After all, their "great national interchange" was a scheme to obstruct the Pan-National Rally by hook or by crook and appease the public at home and abroad demanding free north-south travel and a full-scale open door.

The obstructive moves of those at home and abroad who try to keep the country divided are laying no small obstacles in the way of national reunification. However, our country will be reunified without fail.

All our compatriots in the north, south and abroad must, with confidence and in solid unity, turn out for the nationwide struggle to hasten the reunification of the country.

In order to reunify the country, we must hold fast to the three major principles–independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

The three principles of national reunification are the nation's common programme of reunification, agreed upon jointly by north and south and declared to the public at home and abroad.

In my interview with the south-side delegate who came to the north-south high-level political talks in 1972, 1 advanced the fundamental principles of national reunification as the basis for solving the problem of reunification. I told him that the country should be reunified, first, independently without depending on foreign forces or without foreign interference, second, peacefully without recourse to the force of arms, and, third, on the principle of promoting great national unity by transcending differences in thought, ideas and systems. The south-side delegate agreed to the three principles there and then and accepted them.

After that we sent our delegate to Seoul to discuss the matter of reaching agreement on the three principles of national reunification and declaring them to the public. At that time the south Korean authorities said to our delegate that they agreed to the three principles of national reunification, but that they needed to study whether the principles should be published immediately or not. Apparently they were going to consult with the Americans. After all, north and south officially agreed on the three principles of national reunification we had advanced. On July 4 the north-south joint statement, the keynote of which was the three principles of national reunification, was published.

After publication of the July 4 north-south joint statement, many south Korean delegates visited us. In my talk to them at that time I said that north and south should unite and cooperate, instead of standing in confrontation. I said to them that the "new village movement" they alleged to be conducting could not be a success if they replaced straw thatch with plastic roofing imported from Japan and did not really solve the peasants' problems. To provide the peasants with a good life, they should construct irrigation to help the peasants in their

farming. Since we had rich experience in irrigation construction, I proposed joint irrigation construction in south Korea with investment of our technical resources and materials and their labour. I also proposed cooperation in fishing, saying that the waters off Sinpho were teeming with fish because the cold currents from the north and the warm currents from the south met there, and that south Korean fishermen would be allowed to fish freely in the fishing grounds in the north. I also proposed joint development of mines. I said to them that the northern half of the country was rich in mineral resources and that they should mine iron ore in the north instead of buying it from a distant country. They said that all our proposals for north-south cooperation were good and that their "President" would also be glad to hear their report on their return. Back in south Korea, however, they made a false statement that we wanted south Koreans to come because of a labour shortage and that we wanted to bring south Koreans north to make them "Reds".

The three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity are the most reasonable programme for reunifying the country in accordance with the desire and will of our nation.

No one can object to the idea of Koreans reunifying their country on their own responsibility, free from foreign interference, reunifying the country peacefully, without fighting their fellow countrymen, and reunifying the country through national unity, without any discrimination against communists, nationalists or religious believers. The three principles of national reunification we advanced still serve as the guideline of the movement for national reunification and as the nation's common programme for reunification.

Our nation must realize reunification on the three principles

of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

In our efforts to reunify the country we must not try to copy a foreign example. Nothing copied from a foreign pattern can be successful.

In the whole course of the revolutionary struggle and the work of construction we have always established Juche and done everything in our own way.

As I always say, the shortage of Korean technical cadres was the most difficult problem in building a new society after liberation. During Japanese imperialist colonial rule the Korean people had no access to technological education. In those days there was no university in north Korea and the Japanese refused to teach Koreans technology. Even locomotive engines were driven by Japanese and Koreans had to work as firemen. As a consequence of Japanese imperialist rule, there were scarcely ten graduates of a university of technology in our country after liberation, and few people could drive locomotive engines.

Solving the problem of intellectuals was vital to success in building a new society. True, the working class and peasantry are the basic motive force of our revolution, but they alone cannot carry out the revolution and construction successfully. Intellectuals play no less important a role in the revolution and construction than workers and peasants. That was why we defined intellectuals as a component of the motive force of the revolution, along with workers and peasants, when we founded the Party. A hammer, a sickle and a writing brush are inscribed in the emblem of our Party, symbolizing the workers, peasants and working intellectuals as the components of our Party.

Some people objected to our putting forward intellectuals as the motive force of the revolution, but we ignored them and

decided to do things our own way and took active measures to solve the problem of intellectuals. We summoned all the intellectuals who had been scattered over the country. At that time a considerable number of intellectuals came to us from south Korea as well. They said that Syngman Rhee was a stooge of the United States, that General Kim Il Sung had liberated the country and was building a new society independently, and that everyone who loved the country must go to General Kim Il Sung. At that time not only scholars but many artists came to us from south Korea. Relying on the intellectuals who had come from all parts of the country, we established colleges and a university in Pyongyang. We also launched the Kim Hoe Il Movement in the rail transport to develop rail transport and train engine drivers.

We started virtually from scratch, but now we have an army of nearly 1.5 million intellectuals we ourselves have trained. These intellectuals are now in their forties, fifties and sixties and are working full steam day and night to build socialism. Because we have this army of intellectuals, we can do whatever we choose to do. An army of 1.5 million intellectuals is the most valuable wealth of our people and their greatest pride. The situation today patently proves that our Party's policy to solve the problem of intellectuals in our own way was absolutely correct.

We carried out the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution in our own way and are also building socialism in our own way, but this does not mean that we have never referred to foreign experience. We have adopted good foreign experience, but did not copy it mechanically. I always tell our officials that although we should learn from foreign experience, we must examine whether it suits our situation and the interests of our revolution or not. We must chew foreign things and eat

them if they agree to our taste or spit them out if they do not. Because our officials have been educated in a revolutionary spirit of independence, they do not look up to foreign things or copy them blindly, but work creatively to suit the specific situation of our country by believing in themselves.

I think that establishing the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo on the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity is the way to solve the question of national reunification in our own way to meet our nation's desires and to suit our situation.

In south Korea Jonminryon (Coalition for National Democratic Movement–Tr.), Jondaehyop and other progressive organizations and broad sections of the population are now struggling under the slogan of independence, democracy and national reunification. The slogan is very reasonable. By independence they mean putting an end to the United States' domination of south Korea and making the south Korean society independent. By democracy they mean making south Korean society democratic by opposing military fascistic dictatorship. By reunification they mean reunifying the country peacefully in cooperation with the communists in the north. North and south cannot conquer each other, nor is it necessary for them to resort to fratricide. The only way to reunify the country peacefully is for north and south to coalesce.

Our proposal for reunification by means of confederation enjoys support from the south Korean people and our overseas compatriots.

In my talk with the Reverend Mun Ik Hwan, a democrat in south Korea, on his visit to Pyongyang from south Korea last year, I explained to him our proposal for the establishment of the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo. I said, "A socialist system now exists in the north and a capitalist system in the

south. We do not wish to force south Korea to accept the socialist system. Our idea of the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo envisages setting up a supreme national assembly of confederation, represented equally by north and south, and a permanent federal committee, its standing body, under which north and south exercise autonomy, leaving the two systems in the north and south as they are on the principle of coexistence. The head of the reunified state may be called President or Chairman, and the office of head of state can be held alternately for one year by the north and the south. The federal state should not be a satellite of any country, but must be a neutral state and pursue an independent line." Hearing this, he said that our proposal for reunification through confederation was excellent. As he and I were of the same opinion about national reunification, there was no need for a long talk.

When he was returning, I paid a visit to him where he was staying and asked him whether anything would happen to him on return, reminding him that the south Korean authorities were going to arrest him. He answered that he would have to be locked up in prison for some months. The south Korean authorities arrested him at the airport upon his arrival, imprisoned him and sentenced him to a seven-year term of penal servitude. Such a long prison term for an old man in his seventies amounts to having him die in prison. The penalty imposed upon the Reverend Mun Ik Hwan shows how cruel the south Korean authorities are.

We do not wish to force our ideas and system upon south Korea. If one side forces its ideas and system upon the other, north and south cannot be reunified. If we force our ideas and system upon south Korea, it will not only make it impossible to realize national harmony and reunification, but increase the forces obstructing reunification of the country. A lot of capital

from the United States, Japan, France, West Germany, Canada and other countries has now made inroads into south Korea. If we try to establish a socialist system in south Korea, the capitalists who have invested in south Korea will oppose us, and the native capitalists in south Korea will also come out against us.

The reunified state in the form of a confederation must be a neutral state. Geographically, our country is situated among large countries, such as the Soviet Union, China and Japan. The Soviet Union and China are socialist countries, and Japan is a capitalist country. Since north and south, which have different ideas and systems, are to be reunified, the federal state must not be a satellite of either the Soviet Union and China, the socialist countries, or Japan and the United States, the capitalist countries. The federal state must be a neutral state and develop on an independent line.

Foreigners also support the idea of making the reunified federal state neutral. On his visit to our country several years ago, the former Austrian Chancellor Kreisky said he fully agreed with the idea of a reunified neutral Korea. Recounting his experience in making his country neutral, he said that it was not easy to establish a neutral state. Explaining that as long as Reagan was US President, it would be difficult for Korea to be reunified as a neutral state, he said that if a man of moderate policy was elected US President, the situation might change a little. I told him that no matter who might become US President, we would reunify our country by our own efforts and establish a neutral state.

The Soviet Union and China will agree to our country's becoming a neutral state after reunification. Japan will not object to our neutrality openly, whatever she may think. If we deal with the matter successfully, we may be able to induce the

United States to agree to the idea. It is advisable that the compatriots who came from the United States to participate in the Pan-National Rally explain to the American people that we shall never communize south Korea or touch American investments there and that we are going to establish a neutral federal state.

To reunify the country by establishing the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo, we must check and thwart the “two Koreas” scheme pursued by those who try to keep our country divided.

Asserting that only one system can exist in one country, some people in south Korea now insist on the “doctrine of system unification”, which means reunifying the country by extending one side’s system to the other. This is not feasible in our situation. We shall not yield the socialist system in the north to anyone. The “doctrine of system unification” is, in essence, an attempt to perpetuate national division and make “two Koreas”.

We must make it the first and foremost task in the movement for national reunification to combat the “two Koreas” scheme pursued by those at home and abroad who are trying to keep the country divided. If we permit them to work for “two Koreas”, that will finalize national division and result in leaving south Korea in the hands of the United States as her permanent colony. If this were to happen, we would be guilty down through history. In future, too, we must hold high the slogan “Korea is one.”

To accomplish the cause of national reunification, the nation must form a broad united front and fight in solid unity.

Reunifying the country is the cause of the whole nation, to realize its cherished desire, and all the Korean people constitute the driving force of the reunification movement. In order to

reunify the country, all Koreans, whether they live in the north, south or abroad, must turn out for the reunification movement, and all our compatriots in all walks of life must unite solidly on the principle of great national unity, regardless of their thoughts and ideas, political views and religious faith. We must naturally place the nation's common demands and interests above those of individual classes and strata and subordinate everything to the cause of national reunification.

Ever since the day our country was divided, we have maintained that the country should be reunified by the united effort of the entire nation. Immediately after liberation many public figures in south Korea, though with thoughts and political views different from ours, fought well for national unity and reunification in response to our call. Ryo Un Hyong fought for national reunification hand in hand with us, but was murdered by the enemy. He came to see us on many occasions. Once he said that he would send his children to me and asked me to bring them up well. Out of our sense of obligation to him, we brought up his children and even sent his two daughters abroad to study.

We also built a new democratic Korea after liberation through the united effort of all the people by rallying the patriotic democratic forces. In my speech addressed to a mass welcome rally in Pyongyang immediately after liberation, I said that people with strength should contribute their strength, those with knowledge should offer their knowledge, and those with money should give their money to the cause of nation building and called on all the people who loved their country, their nation and democracy to build an independent and sovereign democratic state in close unity. The speech is inscribed on the monument erected by the Arch of Triumph. I think it is not a bad idea for you to go and see it once.

We shall unite with all the people from different sections of the population who desire national reunification. We shall unite even with the capitalists in south Korea who support national reunification. We are opposed not to the indigenous capitalists, but to the pro-American and pro-Japanese elements who have betrayed national interests and the comprador capitalists who obstruct national reunification in league with foreign forces.

All the Koreans who desire independence and reunification must unite under the banner of great national unity, and the people with strength must contribute their strength, those with knowledge their knowledge, and those with money their money to the cause of national reunification.

I hope that all the delegates present here will fight with devotion, holding high the banner of great national unity, the banner of national reunification, and thus become true Korean patriots and campaigners for national reunification.

For the overseas Korean compatriots to contribute to the cause of national reunification, they must have a good knowledge of their homeland and take pride and self-confidence in their homeland and their nation.

Some of our overseas compatriots may not know their mother tongue well, because they have lived in foreign lands for a long time; nevertheless, they must not lose their Korean soul and must not forget their homeland on any account.

The people in the homeland have, under our Party's leadership, built an excellent socialist system of our own style in the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance and fortitude. In our country, where the Juche idea has been translated into reality, the popular masses have become true masters of the state and society, and everything in society serves them. In our country all the people are closely united in a single mind and purpose behind the Party, and everyone leads an equitably happy life,

free from the worries of food, clothing and housing. Creating culture and benefiting from it, our people are developing their resourcefulness and talents to the full and enjoying rich cultural and emotional lives to their hearts' content.

Last August 15 I saw the variety performance of kindergarteners and told our officials to show it to you. All the kindergarteners who performed in the show are the sons and daughters of workers and farmers. Their artistic skills are very high. As I told Luise Rinser, the West German writer who was with me at the show, children's artistic talents can come into bloom only under the socialist system. That is impossible in a capitalist society. Rich men's children in a capitalist society will not try hard to learn art, and poor people's children will have no access to art. By contrast, under the socialist system a broad avenue is open for all the children to develop their artistic talents to the full. Our country spares nothing if it is for children. For example, for the quadruplets who played in the kindergarteners' variety performance the state has had a two-storeyed house built to bring them up well and assigned a teacher and a doctor to take care of them.

Our people keenly feel from their life experience that our own style of socialism is far superior to capitalism.

The United States is said to be a developed country in the capitalist world, but it is a corrupt and ailing country where there is a gulf between rich and poor as well as extreme social inequality, and all sorts of social evils are rampant. In the United States rich people live in luxury, whereas many people suffer from hunger and roam about the streets homeless. The United States has more cases of murder and robbery and more drug and alcoholic addicts than any other country. The United States also has more AIDS victims than any other country. The American way of democracy is not for the popular masses, but

for the privileged minority. Our compatriots here from the United States know the real state of affairs in that country better than we. It is foolish to harbour illusions about the United States and try to copy American democracy.

As unexpected events have broken out in some socialist countries over recent years, the US imperialists have grown more arrogant and are behaving impudently on the international scene. They are trying to act as international gendarmes and boss the world about.

The US and other imperialists are now hoping that the wind of liberalization will blow and disturbances will break out in our country, too, but no such thing will happen in our country.

The Juche-oriented socialist homeland is strong. In our country the leader, the Party and the masses are a single-minded unity, so the country will stay firm no matter what kind of wind blows. Our people are highly proud of having built socialism in their own style by their own efforts and are firmly resolved to safeguard the socialist land of Juche to the end.

I am convinced that you will also strive to safeguard the socialist homeland of Juche and bring an early independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

LET US ACHIEVE THE GREAT UNITY OF OUR NATION

Talk to the Senior Officials of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland and the Members of the North Side's Headquarters of the Pan-National Alliance for the Country's Reunification
August 1, 1991

The Pan-National Rally for the Peace and Reunification of the Fatherland was held last year on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of national liberation, and this year the second Pan-National Rally is to be held on August 15, too. I think it is a good thing that the Pan-National Rally and the various joint national festivals for reunification are held on the memorable occasion of the anniversary of national liberation. We must work hard to make the forthcoming events a success and a major occasion for achieving great national unity and hastening the reunification of the country.

Achieving the reunification of our country means linking the nation's severed blood vessels, bringing about national harmony and gaining national independence across the country. In other words, it concerns the fate of our fellow-countrymen; it is a matter vital to our nation.

As is well known, our country was divided not because of contradictions within our nation; its division was imposed upon it exclusively by foreign forces. After the end of the Second

World War the Korean question was dealt with to suit the interests of the great powers, contrary to our nation's desire and will to be independent, and the United States occupied south Korea. As a result, Korea was divided into north and south. It is because of continued interference and obstruction by foreign forces that Korea has not yet achieved her reunification.

In the half a century since our country was divided not a day has passed without our nation's misfortunes and sufferings weighing on my mind, and without my thinking how the country can be reunified. We must not leave the task of national reunification to the younger generation. We must reunify the country in our lifetime. National reunification is the supreme desire of the Korean people and there is no more pressing task for them than to reunify their country.

The reunification of our country must be achieved independently and in a peaceful way, and this calls on us to achieve the great unity of the whole nation. The realization of the independent and peaceful reunification of the country is inconceivable without great national unity. Great national unity is a fundamental precondition for the achievement of the independent and peaceful reunification of our country, as well as the most essential aspect of it. The first and foremost task in achieving national reunification is to achieve the great unity of our nation.

Whatever movement we may join, we can emerge victorious only when we strengthen the driving force and increase its role. This is an essential revolutionary truth which has been our philosophy and faith throughout the long revolutionary struggle.

The driving force for national reunification is the entire Korean nation. The reunification of the country is our nation's cause of independence, and it can be achieved by the efforts of

our nation alone. Every Korean person is responsible for national reunification and must bear his or her responsibility and play his or her allotted role in the struggle to reunify the country. If our nation, as the driving force for national reunification, is to fulfil its responsibility and role, it must be united firmly as one. The strength of the driving force is precisely the strength of its unity. The decisive guarantee for the independent and peaceful reunification of the country lies in the achievement of the unity of the whole nation and in strengthening the driving force for reunification.

All the Korean people must unite closely under the banner of great national unity, in the spirit of patriotism and national independence.

A nation is a solid community which has been formed and developed historically, and it is a unit of social life. Historically, people have lived with their country and nation as a unit and have shaped their destiny through a combined effort. The question of a nation essentially means the question of achieving and defending its independence. Independence is the lifeblood of the people as well as of their country and nation. If a man is deprived of his independence, he is as good as dead; likewise, if a nation is deprived of its independence, its existence and development is inconceivable.

It is only when the independence of a country and a nation is achieved that the independence of individuals can be realized; no one can escape the fate of slavery if his country and nation is enslaved, for the life of an individual as a member of the nation exists in the life of his or her country and nation. It is precisely for this reason that, although a nation consists of different classes and strata, people love their country, value their nation’s independence and fight in unity for the independence of their country and nation. People love their

fatherland and value the independence of their nation. These feelings are common to every member of a nation.

Originally, nationalism came about as a progressive idea promoting national interests. Under the banner of nationalism, the newly-emergent bourgeoisie took the lead in the nationalist movement, yet nationalism could not be regarded as an ideology of the capitalist class from the outset. During the period of the bourgeois nationalist movement against feudalism the interests of the popular masses were basically identical with those of the newly-emergent bourgeoisie and, accordingly, nationalism reflected the common interests of the nation. Subsequently, as capitalism developed and the bourgeoisie became the reactionary ruling class, nationalism was reduced to the ideological means for the capitalist class to defend its interests. Bourgeois nationalism conflicts with genuine nationalism which truly promotes the interests of the nation. For idlers, who may be called the parasites of the nation, to pose as nationalists is nothing but a deception. Only he who does some work, mental or physical, which is beneficial to the nation, can be a genuine nationalist.

In our country, the land of a homogeneous nation, genuine nationalism means precisely patriotism. Our nation, which has inherited the same blood generation after generation and built up a brilliant national culture with the same language on the same territory, is a nation with a strong spirit of patriotism and independence. Our people have always loved their fatherland ardently and fought strongly to defend the independence of their country and nation. This is a proud tradition of our nation.

My father put forward the idea of *Jiwon* (aim high–Tr.) and educated me in patriotism and in the spirit of national independence. So I set out on the road of struggle with a resolution to dedicate my whole life to saving the country and

nation. My revolutionary activities began with the struggle for national liberation and in the course of the struggle to establish the identity of the nation, the identity of the revolution, I have evolved the Juche idea, the guiding idea of our revolution. I have been fighting all my life for the independence, sovereignty and prosperity of our nation, for the independence of the masses of the people. I am fighting for the independence not only of our people but also of people throughout the world, and for the abolition of exploitation and oppression of man by man not only in our country but also throughout the world. Just as it is inconceivable for a person who does not love his parents and brothers to love his country and nation, so it is unthinkable for a person who is indifferent to the destiny of his nation to be loyal to the world revolution. As I always say, only a genuine patriot can be a true internationalist who is loyal to the world revolution. I can say that, in this sense, I am a communist and patriot as well as an internationalist.

At the present stage of historical development, when the destiny of the popular masses is being shaped with the country and nation as the basic unit, the whole nation must firmly establish the identity of the nation and fight in unity for its common interests and prosperity. We must not only achieve national reunification on the basis of great national unity but also, after the country is reunified, build an ideal society by relying on the united efforts of the entire nation so that all the people enjoy equally unbounded happiness on this land.

A nation must regard its independence as its lifeblood, advocate and realize its independence by united effort and achieve its common prosperity. I can say that this is our Juche view on the nation.

We have firmly adhered to the principle of always believing in and relying on the combined strength of the people both in

the struggle against imperialism and in the struggle for the building of socialism. We have always given top priority to national interests and relied on the combined strength of the people in the struggle. We can say that this is the secret of the victory we have achieved in the revolution and construction.

We emerged victorious from the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle for national liberation because the guerrillas and the people forged ties of kinship and all the anti-Japanese patriotic forces fought in close unity. During the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle we brought together patriotic people from all walks of life into the anti-Japanese national united front and fought Japanese imperialism with the united strength of the nation. The Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland, formed in 1936, was an anti-Japanese national united front comprising broad sections of patriotic people who opposed Japanese imperialism and aspired to national independence. This association united all the anti-Japanese patriotic forces from all walks of life including communists, nationalists, workers, peasants, intellectuals, young people and students, as well as conscientious national capitalists and religious men. We established the tradition of national unity in the course of waging the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle, relying on the broad-based anti-Japanese national united front.

In the struggle to build a new society after national liberation, too, we channelled our efforts firstly into achieving great national unity. In the speech I addressed to the people after national liberation, I called upon all the people who loved their country and nation and democracy to unite as one and make a positive contribution to nation-building, those with strength giving their strength, those with knowledge contributing their knowledge and those with money offering their money. We have pushed forward dynamically with the

building of a democratic new state and with socialist construction, relying on the combined strength of all the people. Our socialist construction aims at enabling all our people to lead happy and worthwhile lives in a society free from exploitation and oppression. The socialist society we are building is socialism centred on the popular masses. Socialism centred on the popular masses means a genuine society for the people where all the people are the masters of the country and everything in society serves the popular masses. We need not build socialism which does not serve the popular masses, and we cannot build socialism centred on the popular masses without uniting the popular masses.

The aim of the reunification of our nation is to realize the independence of our nation, to achieve the common development and prosperity of the nation and to ensure that all the Korean people lead happy and worthy lives in one reunified land. It is natural, therefore, that all the people should combine their will and rally as one in the struggle for national reunification, and this is fully possible.

The Joint Conference of the Representatives of Political Parties and Social Organizations of North and South Korea was held in Pyongyang in 1948. We called this conference to discuss the pressing save-the-nation measures and national reunification. The conference was attended by representatives of almost all the political parties and social organizations of south Korea, except Syngman Rhee's party. Kim Ku, the leader of the "Korean Independence Party", too, attended the conference. In pre-liberation years when he was in the "Provisional Government in Shanghai" Kim Ku had regarded communists as his enemies. But he attended the conference having accepted our just proposal to meet and have a heart-to-heart discussion on important questions concerning the destiny

of the nation as members of the same nation, and he eventually took the road of alliance and coalition with us communists. He had no clear idea of what a genuine communist was, but he was a patriot. He made a fine speech at the north-south joint conference and after his return to south Korea he fought for national unity and reunification before being assassinated by the Yankees and their stooges. The historic April north-south joint conference served as clear proof that despite differences in ideologies and ideals, political views and religious beliefs all people can unite in the struggle for the common cause of the nation.

If the whole nation fights in concert, drawing on the traditions and experience of national unity built up in the course of the struggle to realize our nation's independence, we shall not fail to achieve national reunification, the supreme task of the nation.

The concert and unity of the whole nation means the national reunification we desire. What is most important in national reunification is not the procedures or methods but the achievement of the genuine harmony and unity of the whole nation. If all Korean people in the north, south and overseas unite their minds and, on this basis, attain great national unity the most important problem in achieving national reunification will have been solved and then other problems can be resolved easily.

In recent years signal progress has been made in our efforts to bring about national unity. Last year, after the August 15 Pan-National Rally, the Pan-National Reunification Concert was held; also the north-south reunification football matches and art festival took place. This year the north and the south formed unified teams and participated jointly in the World Table Tennis Championships and the World Youth Football

Championship. This was a result of our people's desire for reunification that was stronger than ever before and the intensified trend towards national concert and unity. This delighted all the brethren in the north, south and abroad and led them to gain national pride and confidence. If the minds of all our compatriots are united as one, the great unity of the whole nation will be achieved and the country reunified. It is in this sense, I think, that the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan in south Korea said that our nation had been reunified now, that the reunification was in the perfect tense.

It is also for the sake of genuine national concert and reunification that we have advanced proposals on national reunification through confederation based on one nation, one state, two systems and two governments. Since there exist two different ideologies and systems in the north and south of our country, the confederation formula is the only way to achieve national harmony and reunification. In the light of the situation prevailing in our country it is wrong for either side to attempt to attain reunification by conquering the other. An ideology and system should be chosen by the people themselves of their own accord, not through coercion from outsiders. If one side were to try to impose its ideology and system on the other, it would be impossible to realize national reunification; it would rather aggravate the confrontation within our nation and cause further national calamity. The ideological and institutional differences within our nation should be gradually overcome not by coercive methods but by strengthening national unity based on the common interests of the nation. The most essential interests of our nation lie in the nation's reunification free from any foreign domination and interference. In spite of the ideological and institutional differences within our nation we, as a single people, can bring about reunification and work

together for the common prosperity of the nation.

Whether they are in the north, south or abroad, whether they are workers, farmers, intellectuals, young people, students, politicians, businessmen, religious men, or soldiers, Koreans must all unite and strive to achieve the reunification of their country, the common cause of the nation. Just as our people did in the days of building a new country, compatriots from all strata in the north, south and abroad must join hands in the cause of national reunification; those who have strength should contribute their strength, those who have knowledge their knowledge and those who have money their money.

The workers, farmers and intellectuals form the major force of the nation. If they cooperate and unite, while maintaining their own characteristics, they can form a mighty, independent driving force of the nation and achieve reunification. Workers and farmers should join hands with intellectuals, while intellectuals should cast in their lot with workers and farmers and thereby fulfil their role as the motive force in the struggle for the country's reunification. It is unfair to underestimate the role of intellectuals or to adopt a narrow-minded attitude towards them. When founding the Party, we defined intellectuals, along with workers and farmers, as one of its components. Our Party's emblem consists of a hammer, a sickle and a writing brush. These symbolize the workers, farmers, and intellectuals who make up our Party. When we began to build a new society immediately after liberation, we did not leave out the intellectuals, arguing that they had served Japanese imperialism. We believed in their patriotism and spirit of national independence and generously brought them to our side. We regarded the intellectuals scattered across the country as the nation's treasure and searched for them one by one. We positively encouraged them to play an important role

in the building of a new country. Our intellectuals trusted and followed our Party and have thrown in their lot with it. They dedicated all their efforts and talents to the building of the new democratic Korea. They also fought courageously in the Fatherland Liberation War against US imperialist aggression, and after the war they worked for socialist revolution and construction.

Today the south Korean intellectuals, too, are fighting well for the reunification of the country. The young people and students of south Korea are ardently patriotic and have a strong spirit of independence against the US. They are playing a central, leading role in the struggle to make south Korean society independent and democratic and to reunify the nation. The south Korean young people and students who are struggling heroically, dedicating their precious youth without hesitation for independence, democracy and national reunification are the pride of our nation.

In addition to the workers, peasants and intellectuals, there are many people in south Korea from different backgrounds who live in different conditions. We must not neglect them. We must achieve national unity on the principle of welcoming everyone without hesitation, who is not a traitor to the nation.

It is very important to have a correct understanding of religions and to work properly with religious believers. People believe in a religion because they take their sufferings and misfortunes in this world as predestined, and they yearn for happiness in the next world. Therefore, we cannot call them bad. What is bad is the anti-popular politics that misleads people about the situation and reactionary rulers who misuse religions, making them an instrument for paralysing the people's consciousness of independence and ensuring that the people obey their rule. Progressive religious believers wish the

people to love one another and live in harmony. The south Korean men of religion are opposed to the foreign invaders who keep our nation artificially divided and who suppress the champions of reunification at the point of the bayonet. We must be highly appreciative of the devoted struggle of the south Korean men of religion for national reunification and unite with them.

It is mortifying that in south Korea young people, the sons and daughters of the nation, serve in the "ROK army" under the command of Americans who use it as a tool for their neo-colonialist domination and for the implementation of their policy of keeping our nation divided. We must awaken the officers and men of the "ROK army" to the anti-national and anti-popular nature of the imperialists and their minions so that they stand firmly by their own nation and people and cooperate with their parents and brothers in the struggle for independence, democracy and national reunification.

As I always say, reunification means patriotism and division means treason. Those Koreans who desire national reunification and strive for it are patriots, whereas those who are opposed to reunification and accept division in league with foreign forces are traitors. By this criterion we must unite with all those who support reunification and advance with them in the same ranks. Even one who may have once been opposed to reunification and have committed crimes against the country and the nation, if he repents of his mistake and takes part in the struggle for patriotism and reunification, must be allowed to start with a clean slate and join hands with us.

There are many people who once led a dishonourable life in the eyes of the nation but have broken with their past and taken the patriotic road of national unity and national reunification. Mr. Choe Tok Sin was one of them. As you all know, he served

as a corps commander of the “ROK army” and “foreign minister” in south Korea. While he was pursuing the road of pro-US, anti-communism at important military and political posts, he gradually began to feel disillusioned about the traitorous and anti-reunification acts of the ruling authorities and took refuge in a foreign country with the aim of living an honest life for the nation. While in exile he engaged in patriotic activities for bringing about the independence and democracy of south Korean society and reunifying the country. He became clearly aware of which was the patriotic way to follow during many visits to the homeland. He was moved by the fact that our Republic, which is independent, self-sufficient and self-reliant in defence, is displaying the pride and dignity of the Korean nation. He also sympathized with our consistent, just policy of embracing and joining hands with all those who love their country and nation, regardless of differences in political views, ideas and religions without asking about their past, and the policy of great national unity. He said he had found a paradise on Earth in the homeland, the land of bliss which he, as a nationalist and Chondoist, had aspired to and sought all his life. With a determination to dedicate the rest of his life to the just cause of the country and the nation, he applied for permanent residence in the homeland. Although he had opposed us in the past, we positively supported his decision and agreed to join hands with him for the sake of great national unity and the reunification of the country since he was resolved to break with the past and make a fresh start for the sake of the country and the nation. After being taken into the embrace of the homeland, he worked with devotion to the last moment of his life as the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chondoist Chongu Party and the Vice-Chairman of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland; he

did so for the prosperity and development of the country, for great national unity and for the country's reunification. He passed away, failing to see the day of national reunification to which he had looked forward. But in his last years he joined the ranks of the national reunification movement and marched forward with his fellow countrymen. As a result, he came to enjoy immortality as a patriotic martyr who is held in affection by the people, and who helped his compatriots at home and abroad to understand the real meaning of national concert and great unity.

For the realization of great national unity compatriots from all social strata in the north, south and abroad must place their common national interests above all else and subordinate everything to national reunification, transcending differences in ideas, social systems and religious beliefs. We must regard this as a fundamental principle in achieving great national unity and firmly adhere to this principle.

Our national community which has been formed and consolidated over a history of five thousand years is greater than transient differences in social systems, ideals and ideologies which have come about owing to national division; the common national desire to achieve reunification as a homogeneous nation is incomparably more important than the interests of individual social classes and social strata. Although the defence of the ideals and ideologies of individual classes and strata and the realization of their interests are important, it is even more important to realize the common cause of the nation. Classes and strata form part of the nation. Therefore, no class and no stratum can realize its own interests apart from the common national interests. Only when there is a nation can there be classes, and only when national interests are guaranteed can the interests of the classes be ensured.

Today when the independence of our nation is being trampled upon by foreign forces, no class or stratum, if it belongs to the Korean nation, should hamper the achievement of national reunification, the common cause of our nation, by putting its interests to the fore. There should be no practice of placing class interests ahead of national interests, or of setting the struggle to satisfy class demands against the struggle for national reunification, swayed by minor interests and prejudices. Moreover, for fellow countrymen to reject or repress one another on the strength of government authority because of differences in political views, isms and assertions or for them to be hostile to one another because of differences in ideas and social systems–these are fundamentally contrary to the principle of great national unity jointly agreed upon between north and south, and such acts are intolerable for the nation. Our people will never be able to achieve their reunification if the two sides reject and are hostile towards each other, putting differences to the fore instead of uniting on their common ground as a single nation.

If the great unity of the nation is to be achieved, contacts and visits should be widely encouraged among the fellow countrymen in the north, south and abroad and dialogue be promoted actively among them.

If the whole nation is to act in concert and pool its strength for the common purpose, an atmosphere of understanding and confidence should be created within the nation. Because our country has been divided and the north and the south have been alienated from each other for a long time, some people misunderstand their fellow countrymen, believing them to be their enemy, and some people hesitate to go hand in hand with their fellow countrymen because of a lack of confidence, although they wish to see national unity. In order to remove

such misunderstanding and distrust within the nation and realize national concert and unity, it is necessary to encourage free visits, contacts and talks.

What is important in realizing free travel and contact and wide-ranging dialogue is to pull down the barrier of division and remove all political and legal obstacles to it. We have already made proposals for removing the barrier of division, ensuring free travel and opening all doors between north and south and have been making untiring efforts to realize them. The point in question is that the south Korean authorities should pull down the barrier of division and remove all obstacles that hamper free travel, contact and dialogue among the fellow countrymen in the north, south and abroad. Today the "National Security Law" of south Korea is a major obstacle to free travel, contact and dialogue between north and south. In south Korea those who have been to the north or who have discussed reunification in foreign lands with people from the north are punished under the "National Security Law". The Rev. Mun Ik Hwan, who is over 70, a young girl student Rim Su Gyong and other visitors to the north, as well as a large number of those working for reunification, are currently imprisoned under this law. If this wicked law is not repealed, there can be neither free travel and contact nor free dialogue between north and south. That is why the "National Security Law" must be abolished as soon as possible.

In order to achieve great national unity we must strengthen nationwide solidarity in the struggle for national reunification.

Great national unity cannot be achieved only by words. It can be achieved and consolidated in the course of developing joint action by uniting minds and efforts in the struggle to reunify the country. All political parties, organizations and compatriots from all walks of life in the north, south and

abroad must support one another and take concerted action in the struggle for the country's reunification.

The cardinal task here is to check and frustrate the schemes of the forces which are opposed to reunification and working to keep the nation divided for ever and provoke another war. In order to isolate and weaken these forces and defeat their divisive moves, the compatriots in the north, south and abroad must develop an active joint struggle in various forms. The tens of thousands of US troops and more than 1,000 nuclear weapons of various types deployed in south Korea are the root cause of tension on the Korean peninsula and pose the threat of a nuclear war. We must have the US troops and nuclear weapons withdrawn from south Korea as soon as possible and thus remove the danger of a nuclear war that threatens the existence of our nation; thus we shall provide a firm guarantee for peace on the Korean peninsula. All our compatriots in the north, south and abroad must launch a nationwide struggle to compel the US to withdraw its troops and nuclear weapons from south Korea and make the Korean peninsula a nuclear-free, peace zone.

In order to achieve great national unity all the political parties, organizations and compatriots of all strata in the north, south and abroad that are struggling for the reunification of the country must ally themselves with one another organizationally.

It is only when all our compatriots who adhere to the patriotic cause of reunification are organized into an allied force that solid national unity can be achieved and unity of action and unanimity ensured in the struggle for the country's reunification.

For the organized unity of the whole nation, there must be an organization that can ensure the voluntary association of our

compatriots of all strata in the north, south and abroad. I believe that the Pan-National Alliance for the Country's Reunification which was inaugurated in accordance with the decision of the Pan-National Rally last year can be such an organization. The Pan-National Alliance for the Country's Reunification was formed through the joint efforts of the patriotic organizations and public figures of all strata in the north, south and abroad that aspire to the independent and peaceful reunification of the country. It is a patriotic organization for reunification, whose mission it is to reunify the country on the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity, and which represents the common will of Koreans in the north, south and overseas. It has the important duty and responsibility of achieving great national unity and hastening the reunification of the country. It will have to work hard, conducting a variety of activities, to expand and strengthen its ranks steadily among our compatriots and to hasten national reunification.

Many obstacles and difficulties still lie in the way of the reunification of our country, but we are looking forward with confidence to the bright future of national reunification.

Our nation's move towards reunification is now stronger than ever before. Our compatriots in the north, south and abroad are working hard with a firm determination to reunify the country without fail in the 1990s. Nobody can break our people's will to reunify their country, and no force can ever check our nation's strong move towards national reunification. Through the united efforts of the whole nation, our people will overcome the obstacles and difficulties in their way to national reunification and reunify their country, come what may.

Once the country is reunified, our nation will be a dignified and strong nation and our country will emerge on the world

stage as an independent and sovereign country with more than seventy million people, a brilliant national culture and a powerful economy. Our nation is industrious and resourceful, and our country is a beautiful land of three thousand *ri* in which it is good to live. When the whole nation is united as one, and when the country is reunified, there will be nothing for us to fear or envy. Our people will proudly display the resourcefulness and greatness of the Korean nation and nobody will dare to encroach upon our sovereignty. If the whole nation combines its efforts and talents and develops the economy and culture after the country's reunification, our country will be more prosperous and civilized, and it will make a more effective contribution to the common cause of the people in Asia and the rest of the world for peace and prosperity.

For the Korean people to devote themselves to national reunification is most honourable and worthwhile. Those who have contributed to the noble cause of national reunification will be held in love and respect by the nation and will be highly appreciated by the reunified nation.

I believe that you comrades, who are at the forefront of the struggle for national reunification, will carry out the honourable duty entrusted to you by the country and the nation.

LET US REALIZE THE COUNTRY'S REUNIFICATION INDEPENDENTLY THROUGH THE UNITED EFFORT OF THE WHOLE NATION

Talk to the Overseas Compatriots Who Attended
the Third Pan-National Rally
August 19, 1992

I am very pleased to meet you, overseas compatriots who have attended the Third Pan-National Rally for Peace and Reunification of the Country.

I highly praise and warmly congratulate you on the successful Third Pan-National Rally. Although no one from the south has participated in the rally, the Pan-National Rally was a historical event as it set up an important milestone in expanding and developing the national reunification movement to a higher stage.

You wished me and Comrade Kim Jong Il long life in good health, saying that you will reunify the country in the 1990s at any cost and have me and Comrade Kim Jong Il in the square of reunification. I am very grateful for this.

Reunifying the country is the supreme national task of our people, one that brooks no further delay. We must reunify the country as soon as possible and thereby fulfil the ardent desire of the whole nation. If the country is reunified, our people can enjoy a happy life envious of no one. Although its territory is not large, our country is bounded by sea on three sides, it has

an abundance of underground resources, and its population is 70 million. This being the situation, if we develop the economy rapidly in the reunified country, it will immediately rank among the developed countries.

To all intents and purposes, national reunification must be achieved on the basis of the three principles–independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity. I advanced these principles in the early 1970s; we can reunify the country only when we rely on these principles.

To win the cause of national reunification, we should, first of all, hold fast to the principle of national independence.

It is impossible to reunify the country if we depend on foreign forces. At the moment some countries support the reunification of our country in words, but in actual fact they do not want our country to be reunified. They can do anything as they please in our country only when it is divided, so they prefer division, though not overtly, to the reunification of our country. Therefore, we should not attempt to reunify the country with the help of others.

As our experience shows, it is very important to solve every problem arising in the revolution and construction independently and in one's own fashion. Over the past years we waged the war against US imperialism in our own way and also carried out socialist construction in our own way.

During the Fatherland Liberation War, those who had returned from the Soviet Union insisted on Soviet tactics of warfare and those from China advocated Chinese tactics. I told them that we must fight the enemy with the Korean-style tactics, not Soviet-style or Chinese-style. The Soviet tactics of retreating, giving up a large territory, and counterattacking–the tactics created during the Second World War–did not suit the conditions in our country, with its small territory. If we had

retreated in the wrong way in the condition of our country, we could have lost the whole territory to the enemy. The Chinese style of tactics was a mobile one, fighting always on the move; it did not suit our country, either. So I made up my mind to fight the enemy by drawing on the Juche-orientated tactics suited to the actual situation of our country and, objecting to the insistence of the great-power worshippers and dogmatists, put forward the slogan "Don't yield even an inch of land to the enemy." In those days I told the commanding personnel of the People's Army to fight as much as possible mountain warfare to suit the terrain of our country, saying that at meals the Soviet people use forks, Chinese people chopsticks and Korean people spoons, and likewise we should fight the enemy in our own fashion. The commanding personnel fully supported my tactics, saying it was quite reasonable.

In the days of the war, dogmatists bought quite a number of direct-firing guns from the Soviet Union, but they were not put into effective use. Howitzers were more necessary than direct-firing guns in our mountainous country. We could annihilate the enemy beyond the mountains only with howitzers.

Our victory won in the war is ascribable to the fact that we thoroughly opposed worship of great powers and dogmatism and fought with Juche-orientated tactics suited to the actual conditions of our country.

In the postwar days, too, we built socialism by our own efforts in accordance with the conditions of our country and without relying on others. At one point modern revisionists brought pressure to bear upon us that we enter the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA), but we did not, saying that we would live our own way. We have been quite right to have solved all problems arising in socialist construction by our own efforts with the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance

and fortitude and without entering the CMEA. In recent years socialism has collapsed in the erstwhile Soviet Union and East European countries, but it is winning victory after victory in our country without the slightest vacillation. It is just because we have built socialism in our own way without depending on others. Had it depended on another country like the former socialist countries in Eastern Europe, our country would already have been ruined.

When I met some days ago the south Korean people who were on their visit to Pyongyang, I told them that we always solve all problems arising in the revolution and construction in our own way as required by the Juche idea.

Foreigners, too, recognize that we were right to have solved these problems by our own efforts as suited to the actual conditions of our country, holding aloft the banner of the Juche idea.

An American, who had been the US ambassador to Japan, once wrote an article on our country. He had studied our country for a long time. He wrote: President Kim Il Sung of north Korea waged a struggle under the banner of independence from his first days of revolution; during the Korean war in the early 1950s he solved all problems independently and in his own way; therefore it is useless to try to infuse any idea into north Korea; the south Korean authorities are clamouring for "reunification through absorbing the north", but they might possibly be absorbed by the north.

We should thoroughly reject dependence on foreign forces and realize national reunification through our own efforts by maintaining the stand of national independence.

The basic guarantee for the self-determined and peaceful realization of national reunification is to achieve the great unity of the whole nation. Unity is the fundamental factor in all

victories. If all Korean people in the north, south and abroad wage struggle, firmly united under the banner of great national unity, they will be able to realize national reunification in the 1990s by overcoming the present difficult situation.

In the course of leading the revolution and construction I have at all times given primary effort to achieving national unity. For nearly 70 years–from the day when I started revolutionary activities after organizing the Down-with-Imperialism Union in Huadian until today–I have done my best to realize the national united front and promoted the revolution and construction successfully by relying on the united effort of the nation.

In the period of revolutionary struggle to defeat Japanese imperialism and liberate the country, I put forward the line of the anti-Japanese national united front and made a positive effort for its realization.

Soon after organizing the anti-Japanese guerrilla army I, in command of its main unit, marched toward southern Manchuria to effect a united front with Ryang Se Bong's unit of the Independence Army. Before leaving for southern Manchuria, I met my mother and told her that it was said Ryang Se Bong was commander of an Independence Army unit and I would go with my unit to southern Manchuria to form a united front with him. She said it was a good idea. To tell the truth, our people, if they were scattered here and there without realizing unity, could not defeat the heavily armed Japanese imperialists. Independence campaigners who were active abroad in those days, however, failed to achieve unity for this or that reason, and were separated from one another. I decided to form a united front first with Ryang Se Bong and on this basis with all the anti-Japanese forces. In Tonghua I met him and he gave us an enthusiastic welcome, an expression of

his pleasure at meeting us. He had been on very intimate terms with my father. He had taken part in the funeral ceremony for my father. When I proposed the issue of the united front to him, he was at first interested. But, taken in by his staff officer's plot to create dissension, he refused to join hands with us. The staff officer, a Japanese imperialists' spy infiltrated into his unit, drove a wedge into our united front, telling Ryang Se Bong that the anti-Japanese guerrilla army was planning to win the soldiers of the Independence Army to its side and even one mistake would result in losing the whole unit. From his words and behaviour I saw that he was a spy of Japanese imperialism. But Ryang Se Bong, unaware of his true colour, accepted his words as true. Believing that, though he declined to join hands with us at that time, he would without fail join hands with us some time in the future, I left there and went to eastern Manchuria via Liuhe and Mengjiang.

The foundation of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland (ARF) marked a decisive turn in carrying out the line of the anti-Japanese national united front. I founded the ARF, an organized body of the anti-Japanese national united front, in Dongjiang in May 1936. I personally drafted its programme, rules and inaugural declaration. Its inaugural declaration was made public under the names of some patriotic figures and mine, and I signed it under the assumed name of Kim Tong Myong. As I was still young and my name was not widely known at that time, it was better for me to sign under an assumed name.

As the ARF was founded and its programme and declaration were circulated, many units of the Independence Army and anti-Japanese campaigners who had been scattered all around came to us. The unit of the Independence Army which had been commanded by Ryang Se Bong also came after

the ARF was founded. After Ryang's death, Kim Hwal Sok had been commander of the unit and, worshipping the Kuomintang of Jiang Jie-shi, he tried to establish contact with it. Informed of this, the Japanese imperialists infiltrated their spy into the unit by disguising him as an envoy of Jiang Jie-shi. Kim Hwal Sok took as true the spy's words that Jiang Jie-shi would like to meet him and followed him. On their way they dropped in at a house and slept there. Awakened, he found that it was a police station of the Japanese imperialists. The Japanese imperialists put him to sleep by giving him a drugged drink and arrested him as soon as he woke up next morning. So he died an undeserved death at the hands of the Japanese imperialists. Choe Yun Gu succeeded him as commander of the unit and he came to us with the remaining soldiers.

In the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle I also devoted great efforts to forming a united front with Chondoists. In those days there lived many believers in Chondoism in the areas where the anti-Japanese guerrillas were active. With a view to rallying Chondoists under the banner of anti-Japanese imperialism, I conducted active work with the people in the lower echelon of the Chondoist faith and at the same time promoted the work of educating those in the upper echelon and winning them over. Pak In Jin, head of Chondoism in South Hamgyong Province, was in charge of the Chondoists in Pukchong, Phungsan, Kapsan, Samsu and other counties of the province. We worked with him efficiently and admitted him into the ARF. We then rallied many Chondoists under his influence into an anti-Japanese force. Not only in South Hamgyong Province, but also in Pyoktong, Changsong and Uiju in North Phyongan Province there were many Chondoist believers. We inspired them to rise up in the anti-Japanese struggle, joining hands with us. Nearly all the believers in the

Chondoist faith, except those in Choe Rin's faction, joined hands with us in the days of Japanese imperialist colonial rule. Choe Rin claimed that the independence of Korea should be achieved by gaining autonomy with the assent of Japan. It was preposterous. Pak In Jin and other Chondoists of conscience opposed Choe's "theory of independence", saying that it was absurd, and gave active support to our armed struggle. Pak's wife is still alive and she would be 93 years old this year. I once met the bereaved families of the anti-Japanese revolutionary martyrs; she was among them. She looked healthy for her age.

We could enjoy active support and encouragement from the broad sections of the masses in the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle because we efficiently conducted united front work with people from all walks of life. They sent our guerrilla army food, clothing and many other goods, despite enemy oppression and surveillance. In those days it was not easy to aid the guerrillas. The Japanese imperialists built internment villages in the areas on the Tuman River and other places where the anti-Japanese guerrillas were active so as to prevent the people from aiding guerrillas. They forced peasants to report to them the crop yield every year and even confirmed it themselves, walking around fields carrying swords at their waists. But still the peasants sent provisions to the guerrillas behind their backs. They collected creepers from potato fields in autumn to make it look like they had harvested potatoes and told the guerrillas about it so that they could dig out potatoes. And they picked maize unhulled and kept it in store built in the mountains so that the guerrillas could carry it away. In case we failed to dig all the potatoes in those fields, we would leave them as they were and dig up frozen potatoes the next spring.

We could liberate the country as we rallied all the anti-

Japanese patriotic forces under the banner of the national united front and fought against Japanese imperialism enjoying active support and encouragement from the broad sections of the masses.

After liberation I continued to channel great efforts to realize national unity.

At the speech I made at the rally held to congratulate my triumphal return after liberation, I, illuminating the road for the country to take, called on all people, who love their country, nation and democracy, to unite as one and make an active contribution to the building of the country–those with strength dedicating their strength, those with knowledge contributing their knowledge and those with money donating money. I promoted the building of a new democratic country by relying on the united effort of the people of all strata.

Along with this, I met with many personages, from all walks of life in south Korea, to prevent the country and nation from being divided and to reunify the country. After liberation Ryo Un Hyong, Ho Hon and many other figures visited us from south Korea. Ryo Un Hyong made great efforts to reunify the country before being assassinated by the enemy. He was the first to send me a letter from south Korea immediately after liberation. He visited Pyongyang on several occasions, and on one of those visits he said he would send his children to me and asked me to bring them up if it was not troublesome for me as he did not know what would happen to him on his return to south Korea. I said it would not be burdensome as his children were all grown up and advised him to send them to me. It seemed he predicted that something fateful would happen to him in south Korea. It was fortunate for him to have sent his two daughters to me. It is quite clear what would have happened to them if they had not come to me. Assassinated by

the enemy, he failed to participate in the north-south joint conference.

The Joint Conference of the Representatives of the Political Parties and Social Organizations in North and South Korea was held in Pyongyang in April 1948, a pan-national meeting in which the representatives of the north and south gathered in one place for the first time after liberation and discussed measures to save the nation. Thanks to our active efforts, many representatives from south Korea took part in this conference. Representatives of nearly all political parties and public organizations in south Korea, except the political party of Syngman Rhee, attended this meeting, and among them were Kim Ku and Kim Kyu Sik. You must have learned this on your visit to the Ssuksom Revolutionary Historical Site where the United Front Tower is standing; after the joint conference ended I took Kim Ku and other figures from south Korea to Ssuk Islet and discussed with them the direction of future activities. That day I stressed once again the important matters discussed in the joint conference, including the matter of waging an active struggle to achieve national unity on their return to south Korea and the matter of checking and frustrating the "separate election" of Syngman Rhee. In defiance of objections from the whole nation, Syngman Rhee effected the "separate election" by force at the instigation of the US imperialists.

Although he was elected "president" with backing from foreign forces, he did not enjoy support from the people. During the "presidential" elections held in 1956, Jo Pong Am, leader of the Progressive Party, ran against Syngman Rhee. He obtained a few less votes than his opponent. At the first stage many more people castled their vote for him, but Syngman Rhee garnered a mass vote through deceptive and fraudulent

means, thereby beating Jo by a small margin. If the "presidential" elections had been conducted in a fair way, Jo Pong Am would probably have been elected "president". In view of many people having voted for him, it seems the Progressive Party enjoyed a great influence in south Korea. Jo Pong Am had originally been on intimate terms with Pak Hon Yong; as he broke up with him later, he became "Minister of Agriculture and Forestry" in the puppet government of Syngman Rhee. Because he conducted progressive activities, Syngman Rhee arrested him and executed him on the false charge of maintaining contact with the north. Syngman Rhee arrested and executed all people who looked to be sympathizing with the north or keeping contact with it.

We achieved much success in the work of the national united front for national reunification until 1948, but afterwards no advance worth mentioning was made in this work. Meanwhile, we have made every possible effort to realize the great unity of the nation. For this purpose I have written many works and made many speeches. You, too, have made positive efforts for it in foreign lands. Nevertheless, the complete unity of our nation has not yet been achieved and the national division is continuing because of the separatist manoeuvres and fascist oppression committed by the US imperialists and their south Korean puppets.

We insist on independence, democracy and national reunification, while the south Korean puppets are following the road of subordination, fascism and division. Antagonism and struggle between the north and south is, in the final analysis, that between patriot and traitor, between the democratic force and the fascist force and between the reunification force and the separatist force.

The south Korean authorities have put south Korea entirely

under the subjugation of the United States. The US and south Korean authorities are claiming that south Korea is an "independent state". But how can one call south Korea, which moves under the baton of the United States without exercising sovereignty and independence, an independent state? The south Korean people, too, are of the opinion that south Korea is a complete colony of the United States and their "president" a puppet. As long as south Korea is under the subjugation of the United States, its next "president" will have no choice but to play a puppet, with the US pulling the strings. How pitiable it is that the south Korean authorities are acting under the baton of the US with no opinion of their own!

The south Korean authorities are opposed to making the society democratic and are attempting to maintain their "power" by resorting to fascist violence. In south Korea, the "National Security Law" and other evil fascist laws still remain in force and the south Korean authorities are oppressing patriotic people, including youth and students, by invoking the "National Security Law".

Opposed to national reunification, they are actively following the' US scheme to create "two Koreas". In view of their present conduct, it is clear that they are attempting to divide our country into two for ever. They think that they can crack down on the democratic movement in a fascist fashion and remain in power with the up port of the US only when the country is divided.

They are dead set against compatriots from the north, south and abroad meeting together to talk about reunification. That the representatives from the south side failed to attend the Pan-National Rally this time is ascribable to the south Korean authorities' fascist oppression. They mobilized tens of thousands of police and suppressed by force of arms the south-

side representatives who were trying to go to the north to participate in this rally.

Nowadays they do not make any positive response to our proposals to hold a north-south joint conference and political consultative conference.

Recently the man in power in south Korea proposed holding “summit talks” to us. I replied: I do not object to such talks; if you want to meet me, bring with you new proposals for reunification; we have already put forward the proposal of reunifying the country through confederation and, if you have a proposal better than that, bring it with you; if you have no fresh proposal, you can agree with our proposal of reunifying the country through confederation; if the north-south summit talks are held, we should discuss any idea for reunification and it would be meaningless if we only sit face to face, drinking tea or eating noodles before parting. However, he has neither advanced any proposal for reunification nor supported our proposal. I was informed that he holds “summit talks” frequently on his visits to foreign countries, probably not for the benefit of the country and nation but to sell them.

It seems that the south Korean authorities do not agree with our proposal to reunify the country through confederation because the US has not permitted them. The United States does not want our country’s reunification. It is desperately attempting to divide our country into two and demolish our socialist system by instigating the south Korean puppets. Being aware that their attempt to “reunify the country by absorbing the north” is impossible to be carried out, the enemy is now resorting to the tactics of isolating and suffocating us. The “policy towards the North” advocated by the south Korean authorities is aimed at creating “two Koreas” and ostracizing us internationally, and the great fuss raised by the United States

on the alleged “nuclear issue” is, in the final analysis, aimed at crushing our Republic. Recently the United States picked a quarrel with us on the issue of nuclear inspection; when we insisted on inspecting the US nuclear bases in south Korea simultaneously, it was dumbfounded. To be candid, as we have already been inspected by the International Atomic Energy Agency, the US nuclear bases in south Korea should now be inspected on the basis of impartiality. But, the United States, together with the south Korean authorities, has raised the issue of an “inspection of the same number of sites”. This is quite preposterous.

The United States is attempting to create “two Koreas” and demolish our socialist system, but it is a wild daydream. Ours is a homogeneous nation with a long history and culture, and no one will ever divide it into two for ever. To mention our socialism, it is fundamentally different from that of the erstwhile Soviet Union and East European countries. Our socialism is centred on the popular masses. No matter how the US imperialists would manoeuvre to stifle us, our socialism will never collapse.

Over the past 50 years we have lived under the pressure and blockade of imperialists. This is why our people do not feel surprised or frightened when the US imperialists threaten and blackmail them with something like “economic sanctions”. Although socialism has collapsed in the former Soviet Union and East European countries, it does not mean we cannot live on.

We have food to eat, clothes to wear and the best socialist system in the world. Our people do not lead a particularly luxurious life when compared to others, but they enjoy a happy life free from worry about food, clothing, housing, medical treatment and education.

Our Party is now making efforts to fulfil our people's centuries-old desire to live on rice and meat soup and in silk clothing and in tile-roofed houses. We are yet to provide our people with enough meat, but we are going to solve this problem.

If we carry out the Party's agriculture-first policy and increase grain production, we can solve the meat problem; and if we bring about a revolution in light industry, we can produce commodity goods in adequate amounts. Then our people will be better-off than now and the advantages of our style of socialism will be demonstrated on a higher plane.

Peoples from many countries are now visiting our country, saying that the Korean style of socialism is the best. Last April alone many delegations, delegates and progressive figures from many countries visited our country to celebrate my 80th birthday. After seeing the realities of our country, they said that, if socialism is to be built, it should be built in the Korean style. At that time, scores of parties including communist parties and workers' parties adopted in Pyongyang a declaration for safeguarding and advancing the cause of socialism, and signed it. The Pyongyang Declaration, a common fighting programme of revolutionary parties and progressive peoples of the world that aspire after socialism, is demonstrating its viability and correctness ever more graphically as the days go by. Only a few months have passed since the Pyongyang Declaration was adopted and made public, but the number of parties that signed it has now reached 131. This shows that socialism is still alive in the hearts of the people. Although socialism is experiencing temporary setbacks, it will certainly be revived and advance.

Ever-victorious is our style of socialism which embodies the great Juche idea. No one can provoke our socialism in

which the leader, the Party and the masses are united single-heartedly and the whole society move as one. The United States thought that our country would soon go to ruin following the East European socialist countries, but it has apparently changed its mind a little recently on realizing the might of our single-hearted unity.

If all the Korean compatriots in the north, south and abroad unite firmly, they can frustrate the obstructive manoeuvres of separatists at home and abroad and achieve national reunification.

Many people in south Korea wish for the unity and reunification of the nation. Those who pursue national division number only a few. A few years ago, the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan, a democratic figure in south Korea, visited Pyongyang. When I met him, I asked him who numbered more in south Korea–those who want independence, democracy and national reunification or those who pursue subordination, fascism and division. He answered that the former composed the majority and the latter constituted a handful. Composing the latter group are only the small number of those in the ruling circle, a small section of the military authorities and some comprador capitalists. A tiny handful of these separatist forces have seized power in south Korea and are suppressing the progressive forces who aspire for independence, democracy and national reunification. The antagonism between these two sets of forces is growing acuter with the passage of time, and a fierce struggle is taking place between them. In this light it is important before anything else to define clearly, those who want the country's reunification and those who pursue national division. As we sort rice, so we should discriminate between the reunification and separatist forces and further expand the reunification forces.

In order to realize the unity of the whole nation, we should actively promote dialogue between compatriots from the north, south and abroad and frequently organize meetings and other activities involving the whole nation.

It would be advisable to hold such meetings either in the form of a north-south joint conference or in the form of a joint conference or political consultative meeting involving all social sectors. As 40 years have passed since the last north-south joint conference, another joint conference, if organized, would bring about an important turn in realizing national unity.

The Pan-National Rally should be held regularly in the future. If the Pan-National Rally is to be a rally for realizing the great unity of the whole nation, not only representatives from the north and abroad but also those from the south should participate in it. Of course, a Pan-National Rally with only representatives from the north and abroad would play a certain role in realizing national unity, but unless it is also attended by representatives from the south, it cannot contribute greatly to that end. In the Pan-National Rally held this time a joint resolution was adopted by adding the documents sent by the south-side representatives, but making public a joint resolution agreed upon through documents is of no special significance. A rally conducted in this fashion may make a demonstration before the world but it will not exert a great influence on the people in south Korea. If the south-side representatives fail to attend, the significance and influence of the rally will grow weak. Only when the representatives of the north, south and abroad participate will it become a Pan-National Rally both in name and in reality. Therefore, the Pan-National Rally should be organized on the principle of the representatives from north, south and abroad taking part in it without fail.

If it is difficult to hold in the north a Pan-National Rally

attended also by the south-side representatives, it could be held in a country such as Japan. It will be alright if the south-side representatives do not at first participate in the rally in great numbers. It would be good to allow 20 to 50 people from the south to attend at the beginning and then increase their number gradually. I think it would be best to hold the rally in a foreign country with the participation of a small number of representatives from the south and then move the venue of the rally to Pyongyang or Seoul, increasing the number of participants from the south side.

Korean compatriots in the north, south and abroad should firmly unite as one, transcending the differences in their positions, party affiliation, ideas, political views and religious belief.

I believe that you, our overseas compatriots, will wage an unremitting struggle to realize great national unity and so make a positive contribution to the fulfilment of the sacred cause of national reunification.

You have made a determination to fight strenuously to realize great national unity. It is good.

Please visit your homeland frequently in the future.

LET THE WOMEN IN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH HASTEN THE REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY THROUGH UNITED EFFORTS

Talk to the Members of the Delegation from the South and Overseas Korean Women Who Participated in the Third Pyongyang Seminar on "Peace in Asia and the Role of Women"
September 6, 1992

I express my thanks for your coming all the way to visit us. I am very glad to meet you.

I congratulate you on the great success you achieved in the Third Pyongyang Seminar on "Peace in Asia and the Role of Women".

In order to reunify the country, all Koreans in the north, south and abroad must realize great unity before anything else.

I have emphasized on many an occasion that our nation must achieve great unity to reunify the country. When I met delegates from south Korea, I said that national reunification must be achieved through great national unity above all else. I am sure that the country will be reunified if the entire Korean nation achieved great national unity irrespective of differences in ideology, social system, political view and religious belief.

For great national unity, it is necessary to hold frequent meetings of various types. The fact that the women's

delegation from south Korea has participated in the current Third Pyongyang Seminar on “Peace in Asia and the Role of Women” alone shows that the women in the north and the south, half the population of Korea, are uniting in their efforts to push one of the two wheels of reunification. This is quite laudable. It can be said to be a great success made by women on the way to national reunification that you have come to Pyongyang this time. If women in the north and the south hold frequent meetings–women in the south visiting the north and women in the north visiting the south–they will get acquainted with each other and feel close to each other. This will contribute to national unity and hastening national reunification.

Availing myself of this opportunity, I would like to ask you to convey my warm greetings to women of all social levels in south Korea.

You say that on your current visit to Pyongyang you were impressed by its magnificent construction and its being free from pollution. From olden times it has been called one of Korea’s eight beautiful places for its beautiful scenery. However, everything in the city was destroyed during the Fatherland Liberation War. Our people have rebuilt it more beautifully than before. Now its citizens are living happily in their beautiful city.

Pyongyang is free from pollution. When building the city we built no factories which would pollute the air. We built only textile mills or machine-building factories that would not cause air pollution and built chemical and metal factories which would pollute the air away from the city. The purpose of construction is to make the people well-off and in good health, so why should we build factories and harm their health? We always saw to it that large factories, particularly the factories

which would cause air pollution, were not built in areas which are densely populated.

We also pay deep attention to prevent air from being polluted by the exhaust fumes from vehicles. We refrain individuals from having their own cars as far as possible. The exhaust from many vehicles in the city would pollute the air. Therefore, we do not encourage private cars; instead, we encourage people to widely use trolley buses, buses and underground electric trains. We also encourage them to ride bicycles.

You say it is quite good that the air is clear and the water is clean in Pyongyang, and you are right. Foreigners visiting our country also say that Pyongyang is excellent because it is free from pollution.

You say you have visited Mt. Kumgang this time; what you have enjoyed are only some parts of Mt. Kumgang, including Outer-Kumgang and Lagoon Samil. You must not have seen Sea-Kumgang and some other beautiful sights on Mt. Kumgang. You can tour Sea-Kumgang only by boat. Chongsokjong and other strange rocks and unique scenery in Sea-Kumgang are so peculiar and beautiful that a person viewing the scenery feels as if he were a supernatural being portrayed in the old legends. Lagoon Samil is also beautiful. It is a freshwater lake. It is rare to find such a large freshwater lake by the sea. The water in Mt. Kumgang is clear and clean. It is free from pollution and bacteria, so it is alright even if one drinks it as it is.

We are planning to draw up a wonderful plan for Mt. Kumgang. Many foreigners who have visited the mountain say they would invest in this. South Korean industrialists who have been to the mountain are of the same opinion. There is no need to build anything large on the mountain, except for a few more

hotels for visitors. There is no cable car on the mountain and, if one is built, it will be good for helping old people who are over sixty enjoy the scenery. People under that age can enjoy it while climbing the mountain on foot, but those who are over that age will find it difficult to do this. I was told that one of you who is nearly 80 climbed as far as the Kuryong Falls on foot; it is admirable. Our young people go to Mt. Kumgang by forming mountaineering groups and see its sights while camping on the mountain. Building a cable car on the mountain would be convenient for visitors, but at the same time it would damage the natural environment. We are doing our best to preserve the beautiful natural scenery in the country. We are going to define how to lay out Mt. Kumgang after discussing the matter widely with people.

I advise you to visit Mt. Myohyang and Mt. Paektu on your next visit. On Mt. Myohyang there is a place where Tangun is said to have exercised archery and it has many legendary tales. The mountain is famous as Abbot Sosan formed the volunteer army there with monks and roused them to the fight to repulse the Japanese aggressors when they invaded our country. Relics and legends that reflect the wisdom of our people are a valuable cultural heritage of our nation.

I think there is no mountain in Korea more magnificent than Mt. Paektu. If anyone visits Mt. Paektu, he will feel before anything else that it is magnificent and our country is great.

Afraid that its natural environment would be damaged, I saw to it that the Asian Winter Games to be held in Samjiyon were cancelled. A large sum of money would be needed to host the games, but a greater problem is that the natural environment of Mt. Paektu would be damaged. Lake Samji is the number one scenic spot in our country, and if ski-runs and the like were built there to host the games, the scenery of Mt.

Paektu would be damaged. The games would end after this skiing, but it would be difficult to rehabilitate the natural environment once it is damaged.

It is better to visit Mt. Paektu in summer. Even in autumn the weather on that mountain becomes very changeable and in winter it is hard to climb as the temperature drops to more than 40 degrees below zero and it snows much. I was told that a Japanese woman mountaineer climbed the mountain, and with much difficulty, on her visit to our country in the winter of 1987.

You say that you want to link Mt. Paektu and Mt. Halla through the efforts of women by holding the women's meetings on these mountains in turn. This is a good idea; I agree with you.

You say that the women in the northern half of Korea enjoy a many benefits from the state; you are right.

We have built kindergartens and nurseries everywhere–in factories and in the countryside–at the state expense so as to enable women to work to their hearts' content in workplaces. So women with children bring them up without feeling any inconvenience and work happily at their workplaces. Women feel very happy because many kindergartens and nurseries have been built.

We also have weekly nurseries and kindergartens which take care of the children whose parents are at work. In most cases the parents who travel a lot on business leave their children to their care. Women journalists, artistes, scientists and other women who make frequent business trips send their children there as it is difficult for them to leave their children to the care of nurseries and kindergartens and bring them back every day. However, most women leave their children to the care of day nurseries in daytime and bring them back in the

evening as it is interesting to raise them by themselves.

You say that you have visited the Pyongyang Maternity Hospital. Our women are very pleased with its construction. It is because, when they are admitted to the hospital and give birth with the help of doctors, they can have an easy delivery and no accident takes place during the delivery. The Pyongyang Maternity Hospital is now working well.

You, the head of the delegation from the south, say you met the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan before leaving for Pyongyang and he asked you to convey his greetings to me; I am grateful for this.

I instructed our Premier to ask the "prime minister" of the south for the release of the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan from prison whenever the high-level talks are held between the north and the south. However, the south Korean authorities have not yet set him free. Is there any need to imprison him, saying that his visit to Pyongyang at the age of 70 was an "act benefiting the enemy"? Even if the charge were true, it is too much to imprison the old man for years, I think. If he was to be imprisoned on charges of violating the law, he could be detained in his house as he is an old man. I wish him to be released soon.

I met at a banquet the girl student Rim Su Gyong who participated in the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students which was held in Pyongyang as a delegate of Jondaehyop. When she was returning to the south, I asked our officials to persuade her not to go back immediately but when the situation permitted, as she would surely be arrested by the south Korean authorities if she returned soon. Even though our officials tried to persuade her, she said that she would surely return even if it meant sacrificing her life. At that time, Father Mun Kyu Hyon came here and proposed that he would take her, saying that nothing would happen if he went to south Korea because he

believed in Catholicism. Before entering the south Rim Su Gyong and Father Mun Kyu Hyon read their letter to the Pope and prayed; then they crossed the Demarcation Line in Panmunjom. As soon as they crossed the line, they were arrested. Therefore, neither the Pope nor Catholicism was helpful to them. Rim Su Gyong is now behind bars, being sentenced to five years, on the charge of visiting Pyongyang to take part in the WFYS. It is too much to inflict a punishment of five years on a young girl student on the charge of visiting Pyongyang.

The south Korean "president" said good words for example in the "July 7 Declaration", but he has imprisoned a 70-year-old Reverend and a young girl student on the unjustifiable charge of visiting Pyongyang and is arresting and imprisoning at random a large number of youths and students and men of conscience. How can we think well of him? If the Rev. Mun Ik Hwan and the girl student Rim Su Gyong visited Pyongyang without being allowed by the "government", they could imprison them for a few months or a year as a token punishment, but it is too much that they have imprisoned them for several years. Today I am not saying this to vilify the south Korean authorities in front of you, but because they went too far.

You express your thanks that you are returning after achieving greater success than you expected; I am grateful for your saying so.

The head of our delegation to the seminar asked me to meet the delegation from the south and have a souvenier photograph taken with them as they wanted to meet me. I said to her: It is the first time for a south Korean women's delegation to visit the north; if I meet them and say good-bye to them after exchanging with them a few words of greetings, they will feel

sorry; it will be a courtesy and ethical to have lunch with them. So I have arranged a luncheon party for you.

I propose a toast to national reunification, to the unity of the whole nation, to the successful holding of the Pyongyang Seminar on “Peace in Asia and the Role of Women”, and to your health.

This party has been arranged for you, so please help yourselves.

Frozen-potato noodles are a speciality of Ryanggang Province. Mostly the people in Hyesan in Ryanggang Province and the areas around Mt. Paektu enjoy this food. When the Korean compatriots resident in the United States came to the fatherland, I once had them served with these noodles. At that time they wrote in their notebooks how to make it. On their next visit I asked them if they had made and eaten the noodles; they answered that they made them with potatoes frozen in the refrigerator and the food was not so enjoyable. The noodles made with potatoes frozen in the refrigerator are not palatable. Luise Rinser, a German woman writer, visits our country every year. When she was served the noodles, I asked her if German people knew how to make such noodles and she answered they did not. The noodles taste good when they are made with potatoes frozen in the earth.

When we were waging armed struggle against Japan to liberate the country, the Japanese imperialists tightened their control over grain to prevent people from sending it to the guerrillas. However, in order to send grain to the guerrillas our peasants removed only creepers from potato fields to make it look as if they had harvested potatoes; then they informed the guerrillas about it. Guerrillas in turn went to the fields and dug out potatoes and the next spring they dug out the potatoes they had failed to dig out the year before. The potatoes dug out in

the spring were soft and soggy. We dried them and ground them to powder before making noodles with them. The people in Ryanggang Province know well how to make noodles with frozen potatoes.

I was told that Son In Sil in the south planned to come to the north with you, but she failed; I wish you to convey my greetings to her on your return.

Present in this party are women from the north and the south, and I cannot distinguish who is from the south and who is from the north. It is because all of you are Koreans.

Those who have divided our country are foreigners. Even now they are obstructing our country from being reunified and attempting to divide our nation into two for ever. It is because they can rule our nation as they want only when it is divided into two.

We must reunify the country through the united efforts of the whole nation.

I believe that you will make great efforts for national reunification.

10-POINT PROGRAMME OF THE GREAT UNITY OF THE WHOLE NATION FOR THE REUNIFICATION OF THE COUNTRY

April 6, 1993

To put an end to the nearly half a century of division and confrontation and reunify the country is the unanimous demand and desire of the whole nation. For the independent and peaceful reunification of the country it is necessary to achieve the great unity of the whole nation. All those who are concerned about the destiny of the nation, whether they be in the north, or in the south, or overseas, and whether they be communists or nationalists, rich or poor, atheists or believers, must unite as one nation, transcending all their differences, and together pave the way for national reunification.

Those with strength devoting their strength, those with knowledge giving their knowledge and those with money donating their money, all should make a tangible contribution to the reunification of the country and the development and prosperity of a reunified land, so putting an end to national division and displaying the dignity and honour of the reunited 70 million fellow countrymen to the world.

1. A unified state, independent, peaceful and neutral, should be founded through the great unity of the whole nation.

The north and the south should found a pan-national unified

state to represent all parties, all groupings and all the members of the nation from all walks of life, while leaving the existing two systems and two governments intact. The pan-national unified state should be a federal state in which the two regional governments of the north and the south are represented equally, and an independent, peaceful and nonaligned neutral state which does not lean to any great power.

2. Unity should be based on patriotism and the spirit of national independence.

All the members of the nation should link their individual destiny with that of the nation, love their nation passionately and unite with the single desire to defend the independence of the nation. They should display dignity and pride in being members of our nation and reject sycophancy and national nihilism that erode the nation's consciousness of independence.

3. Unity should be achieved on the principle of promoting co-existence, co-prosperity and common interests and subordinating everything to the cause of national reunification.

The north and the south should recognize and respect the existence of different beliefs, ideas and systems, and achieve joint progress and prosperity, with neither side encroaching on the other. They should promote the interests of the whole nation before regional and class interests and direct every effort to the accomplishment of the cause of national reunification.

4. All political disputes that foment division and confrontation between fellow countrymen should be ended and unity should be achieved.

The north and the south should refrain from seeking or fomenting confrontation, end all political disputes between them and stop abusing and slandering each other. As fellow countrymen they should not be hostile to each other and,

through the united efforts of the nation, they should counter foreign aggression and interference.

5. The fear of invasion from both south and north, and the ideas of prevailing over communism and communization should be dispelled, and north and south should believe in each other and unite.

The north and the south should not threaten and invade each other. Neither side should try to force its system on the other or to absorb the other.

6. The north and south should value democracy and join hands on the road to national reunification, without rejecting each other because of differences in ideals and principles.

They should guarantee the freedom of debate on and of activities for reunification and should not suppress, take reprisals against, persecute or punish political opponents. They should not arrest anyone because of their pro-north or pro-south tendencies and should release and reinstate all political prisoners so that they may contribute to the cause of national reunification.

7. The north and south should protect the material and spiritual wealth of individuals and organizations and encourage their use for the promotion of great national unity.

Both before reunification and after it they should recognize state ownership, cooperative ownership and private ownership and protect the capital and property of individuals and organizations, as well as all interests concerned with foreign capital. They should recognize the social reputation and qualifications of individuals in all domains including science, education, literature, the arts, public debate, the press, health care and sports, and continue to guarantee the benefits granted to people who have performed meritorious services.

8. Understanding, trust and unity should be built up

across the nation through contact, exchange visits and dialogue.

All the obstacles to contact and exchange visits should be removed and the door should be opened for everyone without discrimination to undertake exchange visits. All the parties, groupings and people of all social standings should be given equal opportunities to conduct dialogue, and bilateral and multilateral dialogue should be developed.

9. The whole nation, north, south and overseas, should strengthen its solidarity for the sake of national reunification.

Things beneficial to national reunification should be supported and encouraged in an unbiased manner and things harmful to it should be rejected in the north, in the south and overseas, and all should assist and cooperate with one another, going beyond their own narrow enclosure. All political parties, organizations and the people from all walks of life in the north, in the south and overseas should be allied organizationally in the patriotic work to achieve national reunification.

10. Those who have contributed to the great unity of the nation and to the cause of national reunification should be honoured.

Special favours should be granted to those who have performed exploits for the sake of the great unity of the nation and the reunification of the country, to patriotic martyrs and to their descendants. If those who had turned their back on the nation in the past return to the patriotic road, repentant of their past, they should be dealt with leniently and assessed fairly, according to the contribution they have made to the cause of national reunification.